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18

भारत सरकार  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

विदेश मंत्रालय  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

नई दिल्ली  
NEW DELHI

फाईल नं० \_\_\_\_\_  
FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

खण्ड \_\_\_\_\_  
VOLUME \_\_\_\_\_

टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय  
Subject

Documents from the Russians on  
Netaji's disappearance

पिछले हवाले  
Previous Reference

बाद के हवाले  
Later Reference

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18

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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

नई दिल्ली  
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Asia Pacific Division

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Document No. 1

BiographySubhash Chandra Bose

Age about 50 yrs. Son of a wealthy, Bengali landlord. Owns big house in Calcutta. Got higher education in England. Was selected in Indian Civil Service, but refused to join.

Joined politics in 1925-27. Since then started working for National Congress and other mass movements in India. He always was of left orientation. in 1926 organised the "Independent League" involving all leftist forces in the Congress. The League demanded "Total Independence for India".

Bose was popular amongst students and led a number of student organisations. At the same time was leader of leading trade unions in India - between 1929-31 was President of the Bengal Congress of Trade Unions.

Was in Europe between 1932-35 - in Italy and Germany. In 1934, in his book, and also in his public speeches he praised the Fascist system.

"Hindu" dated 10.1.1935 publishes Bose's views: "I know that I am known as Hitler's supporter. Of course, there is much to learn from Hitler's organisation. But I don't know how far it will be suitable to India. He said, after leaving Rome that the "Indian educated class kneels down before Mussolini" which generated sharp resentment in India.

In his book "India's struggle" he has said about communism as follows: "India cannot embrace communism for a number of reasons. As India is struggling for its freedom, at present there is no sympathy for communism in India. Though the communists are making efforts to get support from outside, Russia is holding a defensive position at present and hence has little interest in world revolution. The latest pacts signed by Russia and capitalist nations and Russia's stand in the League of Nations shows serious compromises made by this revolutionary state.

In the review of the above book in "Bombay chronicle" on 19.1.1935 Bose's views on fascism and communism are given: "In spite of the anti-thesis between the two isms, fascism and communism have some common features. Both believe in running the state above any personality cult. Both denounce parliamentary democracy. Both are for party power and party leader's dictatorship". Bose believed that on the basis of common features of these isms, a new ideology can be formulated.

When in India the atmosphere was created to have one national front against the British imperialism, Bose started speaking in support of USSR, against the aggression of the fascist forces, against the threat of neo-imperialistic war.

In 1937-38 Bose found a thread of similarity between the English and Indian communists. During his visit to Britain he met a number of communist leaders. After returning home he wrote "I found that the views of the British Communist Party agree with the policy of Indian National Congress, in general. During this time he took part in a number of workers' and farmers' rallies in favour of the united national front.

In 1938, at the 51st session of INC Bose was elected President of the INC. On the basis of the letter sent to him by the Indian communists they promised him their support.

Bose's leftist aspirations met with confrontations with the rightist forces within the Congress itself. At the 52nd session of INC, in spite of persistent effort by Gandhi and his rightist supporters to bring in their own candidate, Bose won the presidentship on the backing of the leftists.

.. The rightists were successful in passing a resolution by which the Executive Bureau of the Congress can be formed by the President only after it is okayed by Mahatma Gandhi. Bose could not agree with Gandhi on the composition of this bureau and resigned from presidentship as well as from the Executive bureau.

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In 1939 he founded his own organisation, "Forward Block". They reiterated the demand of 'Total Independence' to India, immediate struggle against England and industrialisation in India.

Bose stressed that 'Forward Block' was formed to oppose the rightist forces in the Congress and their tendency to compromise with England. In March 1939, Bose gave an ultimatum to England that if India is not given Independence within six months, all-India campaign of civil disobedience will be started.

During the World War, Bose declared on behalf of the Forward Block that India has to become Independent to decide for herself whether to participate or not to participate in the War. Bose considered the War to be imperialistic. Earlier he considered Poland to be a semi-fascist regime but after Germany's attack on Poland, Bose expressed his sympathy for Poland. About USSR, Bose said that it was the only socialist country in the world that remained neutral. Bose stressed that India must be given freedom without connecting the issue with the then world situation.

By March 1940, Bose's attacks on Gandhi and other rightist leaders became sharper, at the annual session of INC at Ramgadh. Bose called for immediately starting the Civil Disobedience Movement. This was turned down by the Congress leadership. Bose organised "Anti-compromise Block" a parallel to Congress organisation.

Bose opted for a split in the Congress. In "Amrita Bazar Patrika" dated 10.11.1940 Bose declared that "we are removing all those from the Congress who support the policy of compromise. If they want to function on behalf of the Congress, there will be two Congresses. Bose organised rallies against Gandhi and Gandhians.

From the very beginning of the war between USSR and Finland, Bose criticised the anti- Soviet campaign. It should be noted that Bose was the only leader from INC who unconditionally supported the Soviet Union.

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*Yours truly  
Neil W. Phillips  
Ch  
SAC*

Bose tried to enter the Soviet Union twice, but couldn't succeed. Bose explained to Achar Singh to approach Comm. STalin for seeking armed help for India's struggle against British Imperialism.

Till his end, Bose strove for radical and progressive demands but his methods were always disorganisational, dissenting and at times of adventurous nature. By organising "Forward Block" and then 'Anti-Compromise Council of Action' Bose weakened the national force, in a bid to oppose Congress.

While fighting against the rightist forces in the Congress, Bose himself aligns with the reactionary forces like the Hindu Maha Sabha on the question of Calcutta Municipality elections. Then snapping ties within HMS, Bose joins hands with not less reactionary Muslim during the elections proving his unprincipled political stand.

Still, Bose remains an important figure on the arena of the national freedom movement. He influenced the political life of Bengal commanding popularity amongst students and intelligentia of India. He was undoubtedly against the British regime in India and was of the opinion of using diplomacy and international situation to achieve independence. "In order to vouch for his intentions to seek Soviet support for India's freedom movement, his speeches should be studied and not the changes in his political principles".

#### Sharat Chandra Bose

Subhash Chandra Bose's brother, powerful capitalist and landlord earning around 400-500 thousand rupees p.a. An eminent activist of Bengal INC. Became President of Provincial Committee of INC, Bengal and member of Executive Bureau of All-India Congress Committee. Left Executive Bureau with his brother in 1939. Leader of Bengal Trade Unions. In INC, he was affiliated to the leftist wing.

5.2.1941

By Gulyaev Kozlov

Record of conversation between Soviet Representative in Afghanistan V S Kozlov with the Secretary of the German Mission Schmidt on 15 March 1941

Schmidt came to obtain a visa for an Italian citizen Orlando. He wanted me for the passport and asked me a general question "What news"?

I informed him that normal diplomatic, trade and consular relations between the USSR and Tai (?) were established.

Schmidt said that he spoke with German Charge d' Affaires Schilger regarding the aims of a visit of the Turkish Charge d'Affaires (see my conversation with the German mission Secretary Schmidt dated 3.3.1941). The Turk, supposedly, told Schilger that Turkey was not going to be at war with Germany and the Turkish Government, supposedly, sent a letter to Hitler where it expressed the desire to keep its neutrality in the future. In connection with the fact that Turkey was not going to participate in the current war, the Afghanistan Government felt quite calm as it would not be obliged to render assistance to Turkey to any extent though Afghanistan was connected with Turkey through the agreement. The German stated that in 2-3 days Yugoslavia would join the Triple Pact and after this, Greece would also join Germany under influence of various actions. Thus, the German continued, the German position would be strengthened. The main German task currently was to arrange an attack upon England by surrounding it from each side. After the utter defeat of England, Germans would pay attention to Africa. In connection with this statement, I asked him if it was true that Hitler took measures to obtain a permission of the French Government to occupy several ports of North Africa to fight with England and if France assisted Germany. The German gave an evasive answer to the first question and said that this variant was possible in general; as for the French assistance to Germany, this help was actually received from France.

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Speaking about the British position and about the help they could get from America, the German said that the British home front was unstable and in particular the current situation in India was quite tense for England. This strained situation would be increased when Subhas Chandra Bose would visit Germany and Bose was a very influential figure in India. He would be used by Germans for propaganda against the British domination in India and finally everything would be arranged in such a way that the Indians would come out against their oppressors and throw them out of their territory. The German said that they were going to use Bose giving him the opportunity to speak over the Radio not in Germany but in Japan. Then Schmidt said that the temporary successes of the British in Africa had only a surface character, since actually, the troops were dragged to Africa and it affected the military power of England and its home front.

I told <sup>him</sup> that I have read in British bulletins about the arrival of Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Matsuoka into USSR territory for a further trip to Berlin and Rome. Schmidt stated that Matsuoka would visit not only Berlin and Rome but would certainly have talks with the Soviet Government. Then Schmidt added with meaning that recently Com. Molotov attended receptions in the Japanese Mission twice.

While leaving, Schmidt said that Germans liked our movies and asked if we received new movies from the USSR. I assured that in the near future we possibly would arrange a demonstration of a new Soviet movie for the German Mission. Then Schmidt said that he was interested in it also because he had a family friend who was a good man and his attitude to our country was favourable, his name was Schwarz and he worked in a hospital. Schmidt would like him to be invited to our place for a movie too.

.. - Signed -  
(KOZLOV)

The Biographical summary is the same as in Document No. 1. The following is the additional information.

Bose formed the Indian National Army of Indians, living on territories occupied by Japan. He declared that with the help of Germany and Japan he is fighting for India's independence. As per 'Reuters' Correspondent's report dated 11.10.1946 Bose died in August 1945 in a crash of a Tokyo bound flight.

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by: Y. Amiantov  
R. Paradizov  
Central Party Archieves of  
Institute of Marxism-Leninism  
under CC-CPSU

## DOCUMENT No.4

## ABSTRACTS FROM INDIAN PRESS 1938-1941 (Items on Bose)

Bose's proposals on United Front rejected by Gandhi

In "Tribune" 23 February. The correspondence between Gandhi and the leader of "Forward Bloc" before Bose's disappearance was published. It is evident from Bose's letter sent to Gandhi on December 23 1941 that Bose was not religious and mystical, as it was depicted in newspapers after his disappearance. In two of Bose's letters sent to Gandhi he offered the United Front and participation of "Forward Bloc" members in the Satyagraha campaign. At the same time he indicated that this movement (Satyagraha) was limited and thought that only mass struggle could result in victory. "I thought he wrote, "that you would declare a mass movement as you did in 1921, 30 and 32 though I knew that you allow only personal disobedience. It is quite evident now that the movement organized by you does not pursue objects of national liberation struggle. This movement is not a mass struggle to such an extent. If the government should have agreed to allow anti-war military speeches the movement would be dismissed by you. Nevertheless we would like within the framework of our programme to unite with you in this movement in spite of limited character.

Ignoring our disagreement with the Congress high leadership, we propose unity without demanding any special conditions. Simultaneously we of course don't shut our eyes on more wider tasks that our country should settle. Please accept our proposals regarding our joint actions".

Gandhi rejected these proposals saying that the trends of movement ~~are~~ headed by these leaders are quite opposite.

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Vanishing of Bose - Leader of "Forward Bloc"

Radio and newspapers on January 28 1941 informed the public that the leader of the "Forward Bloc" Subhash Chandra Bose, released from prison at the beginning of December had disappeared from his flat. On 4th February 1941 hearings in the court would begin accusing him of delivering opposition speeches as well as in connection with the article "Day of Retribution". In connection with Bose's disappearance newspapers inform us that from 16th January (i.e. several days before his disappearance) Bose locked himself in the room, drew the curtains on windows and doors and went deep into meditation. He requested people not to enter his room asked to leave food once per day behind the curtain so/he couldn't see it. He was deeply involved in reading religious books. On January 26 it turned out that the food left on the eve was untouched. There was no answer to knocking on the door from the room where Bose stayed. Entering the room his relatives found that Bose had disappeared. Investigations did not give any results: Bose was not found anywhere.

The acting Chairman of "Forward Bloc" Sardar Sardul Singh Kashiwar in his press statement said that he was shocked when he learnt about Bose's disappearance.

"A month ago" he said "during my last visit to Calcutta, we had three long discussions on the internal and international situation. I noticed that his illness influenced his mentality considerably.

He was very upset by the fact that the Congress leadership left the country at the mercy of Fate at such a crucial moment. It told him that under the pressure of public opinion Gandhi demonstrated his inclination to keep the existing situation in view. I told him that permanent and tenacious work will result in taking the right course by Congress. But he expressed pessimistic thoughts regarding it".

The acting Chairman of "Forward Bloc" Sardul Singh Kashiwar stated further that due to his illness Subhash Bose expressed strange thoughts including one that only the poor monks of pilgrims' houses in south India could save the country. (Tribune 28 January).

"Tribune" 28 and 29th January informs us that the Government issued an order for Bose's arrest at any place where he could be found. The police searched his room for 3 hours. The police questioned Bose's relatives thoroughly and recorded their evidences. Bose's disappearance is a sensation not only in Calcutta but throughout India. Journalists, policebodies attacked Bose's relatives with questions, cables received from everywhere, the telephones rang constantly.

The police searched for Bose earnestly. Before Bose's disappearance resolutions, condolences were adopted by many meetings, arranged by "Forward Bloc", with wishes to return back to political activities as soon as possible. The newspaper "Tribune" published an editorial about Bose's disappearance (other newspapers gave only facts of his disappearance). The editorial stated that Bose was disappointed by political activity and took the decision to become a monk and devote himself to religion. We publish this editorial below:

"The sudden disappearance of Bose from the field of political activity will cause sincere regrets even to people who have not met him personally, as well as those who consider his current activity to be not very correct. In spite of our disagreement with Bose we didn't shut our eyes to the extraordinary qualities of his mind and heart. We also don't cheat ourselves regarding the fact that he had unlimited influence on the young generation who supported him unanimously. Society cannot forget the great sacrifices which he made for the welfare of the country. His renunciation of world has struck a great blow to the political life of the country and this opinion is supported by those who have not shared his views completely.

His renunciation of the world, even though everybody knows him, as a fighting politician, is like a bolt from the blue for the wide public. But it is not a surprise to those who studied thoroughly the life of this impetuous character.

Firstly, even when he was young Bose was religious. When he was eighteen he left his house unexpectedly for Haardwar searching for a "guru". He returned back only because he was indignant with the luxury which surrounded his guru. Bose was not gifted with good health and according to the conclusion of experts such a state of health causes permanent anxiety and extreme sensitivity in such characters. No politician would have found his plans to be destroyed as Bose did. When he was young he was expelled from college. He graduated from religious college but did not follow this holy way. His attempt to serve in one of Calcutta Government department failed and he was arrested by the government. Later on when he was elected the Chairman of Congress he had no opportunity to fulfil his intentions, and even when Bose was enthroned against inspite of the struggle of the older generation's opposition, he was expelled from the Congress.

Soon after the Tripura session of the Congress he wrote the following:

"Due to the unhealthy moral situation in Tripura I leave this place with disgust and hatred for politics and I did not experience such a feeling during the last 19 years. When I tossed in my bed in Dgamacdoba day and night I asked myself again and again "What will become of our public life if there is so much hatred and ~~s~~ vengence even in our upper circles. My thoughts reverted to the call of the Himalayas. I spent days and nights thinking and hesitating. But gradually a new spirit dawned upon me and I reestablished myself and my confidence in the fate and people of my country. New events shocked him again and this time he decided to renounce the world and he had made it. It's true that sometimes many small blows are worse than one big wound. But it should have been better if he occupied his post independently, if he managed that the majority of the country would share his political ideas. In any case the work done by Bose for the country can't be forgotten. Regretting his disappearance from the political arena everybody will wish him success in a new field.

One of the most controversial figures of the Indian national liberation movement is Subhash Chandra Bose. His activities, social, political and ideological views were differently evaluated by many historians in their works, & in memoirs of his contemporaries and comrades.

A well-known researcher of the history of the Indian National Congress and an outstanding figure of the anti-imperialist movement, B.P. Sitaramaya, who knew Subhash Chandra Bose well, paid attention to the complicated interpretation of Bose's views and nature of his very personality. "There are many attractive features in him - a stormy life from his childhood and a strange mixture of mysticism and realism, fiery passion sometimes turning into fanaticism and severe practical common sense, deep emotional sensitivity and cold prudent pragmatism." He also mentioned that S.C. Bose and M.K. Gandhi were two polar opposite figures. Gandhi was led by intuition while Bose by reason and the latter circumstance was noticed by many other researchers emphasizing contradictory approaches of both men to tasks of the liberation struggle.

The characteristics of Bose mentioned by Sitaramaya are close to being objective though he was an active supporter and ideological follower of M.K. Gandhi. The author gives an idea about the complicated and outstanding personality of Bose - a political figure who played an important role in the development of the anticolonial movement in India. His activities aroused acute disputes many years after his death. Bose's views differed greatly from Gandhi's. He was one of those few leaders of the national liberation movement who opposed Gandhi in crucial period of the struggle and the importance of this contradiction was in the fact that the movement as a whole became more decisive, since inside the movement various opinions interacted and helped to direct it. In some cases Bose was a winner and away from the guidelines of the liberation movement. But it should be mentioned that in spite of his contradictions with M.K. Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose understood Gandhi's greatness and respected him.

In his views and in his deeds there was a lot of pure individualism, brightness but at the same time something that could be hardly understood :

"In particular, during the last period of his life which was connected with fascist Germany and militarist Japan. Many investigators omit this period of his life simply by writing a few negative phrases and describing mainly and in detail his participation in the liberation movement as well as his activities in the creation of the Indian national army in South-East Asia. But the attention towards him does not grow weak. Diverse legends about Bose's mysterious disappearance at the end of World War are published in India from time to time. Thus in the middle of the 70s, many Indian newspapers discussed the problem, whether Bose was alive and if he was alive where was he? Special Commissions were created to find out the circumstances of his death. The newspaper "Indian Express", 24 January 1979 even published a vague photo of Bose taken allegedly a year before in a temple. On his 83rd birthday (1979) in West Bengal mass meetings were held at which many speeches were made on the great contribution of Netaji (leader) in the struggle for liberation of India from colonialism. And though his name was used in the struggle of different political forces in Bengal of those days, this very fact promoted the growing interest in Bose's personality and in the complicated and contradictory events that took place before India's freedom.

Talking of Bose's characteristics, the Indian historian P.D. Kaushik considered him a rationalist primarily (at the beginning, at the end of his activity and always). A political figure of independent India and a historian, Hiren Mukherji, evaluating Bose's utter devotion to the cause of the Indian peoples' struggle for liberation, condemned him for appealing to fascist Germany, and considered his theoretical reasonings in this respect,

not only incorrect but dangerous. Investigating Bose's contradictory views, he came to the conclusion that "it is difficult to place him unconditionally to the left or to the right."

The Soviet investigator O.V. Martyshin considered S.C. Bose a petty bourgeois radical. Simultaneously he emphasized that Bose was "convinced of the necessity to change the reform policy of the Congress and to draw the people (masses) in the movement." The author saw the negative sides of Bose's ideology and activity. He agreed with Mrs. Byavko Shor (GDR) who paid attention that Bose was inclined to authoritarianism. He was ambitious and the nationalistic features of his character prevailed over socialist features. He was not a democrat."

F.N. Nilov saw in him "a leader who was popular among the middle class of cities," particularly in Calcutta. His influence in circles of the intelligentsia can be judged for example from the reaction of R. Tagore on the resignation of Bose from the post of INC President. R. Tagore sent him a letter in which he expressed his sympathy: "Dignity and patience which you demonstrated in the current situation aroused my admiration and confidence in the correctness of your leadership. Bengal should also stand firm and with the same dignity in the name of self respect in order that your temporary defeat turns into permanent victory."

G.G. Kotovsky in his book, published in 1973, wrote: "S.C. Bose, losing his faith in a possibility to overthrow the British domination in India by internal forces of the Indian revolution and considering that the final military defeat of England is a matter of the near future counted on the fascist Germany and its allies. Bose believed rarely that the enemies of the British would bring freedom for India on their bayonets."

As the interest in Bose's personality and his role in the anti-imperialistic struggle did not bring down the number of new research works and documents and materials kept appearing. There is a necessity to consider this issue more thoroughly.

There are no special investigations in Soviet historiography dedicated to S.C. Bose. Though in some general works analysis of diverse problems of history and ideology of the liberation movement a certain attention was given to Bose's activities as he was one of the brightest leaders of the radical wing of the Indian National Congress but one who found himself out of the main streams of the liberation movement at the last stage of the struggle.

This article does not pretend to be a complex investigation of this complicated issue linked with political activities and ideological views of Bose. It is only an attempt to give a characteristic of some sides of his outlook which are the most important in understanding the process of the development of the anti-imperialistic movement in India.

The shaping of Bose's political views was made under the conditions of the development of the national-liberation struggle in India taking into account its complexity and specific character. A special situation began to develop in Bengal, Bose's homeland, at the beginning of the 20th Century. The process of national formation commenced there earlier than in other regions of India. The earlier development of capitalism in Bengal influenced the acceleration of the new bourgeois ideology and the development of the liberation movement. One of the peculiar features of Bengal was its economic concentration around Calcutta which is an economic centre, the focus of trade and industry, a transport junction and a marine port.

Ideological and political life of Bengal in those days was diverse and active. Prominent philosophers - reformers, ideologists of the national

anti-British, anti-colonial ideas. Young people of the middle class and representatives of the Indian spiritual elite organized underground revolutionary organizations but these organizations were very weakly linked with the masses, they studied how to 'sold' and manufacture weapons, some of them carried out acts of terrorism against odious bureaucrats of the British colonial administration. It can also be recollected that the colonial powers in India prohibited the local population to use arms even as a means of defence against wild animals. Therefore the manufacturing of home-made bombs and other types of arms was a demonstration of resistance to the authorities. In their dreams many participants of secret groups saw an armed revolt of a handful of bold people who would be supported by the masses. Some organizations had already tried to establish connections with wider circles of people and they also carried out a propaganda in the army. At the same time they understood and felt the omnipotence of British people armed with up-to-date equipment, and many of them looked for support from outside, European rivals of England first of all. This circumstance is particularly important for understanding the process of Bose's ideology formation. A considerable number of Indian patriots were brought up over decades in the spirit of revolutionary rationalism. In the first 25 years of the XX Century the workers movement became very important, marxist circles appeared, the ideas of socialism were discussed. Subash Chandra Bose was one of the bright representatives of nationalists for whom the initial ideological materials were the traditions of Indian ideologists such as Swami Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghosh as well as Indian national revolutionaries with their extreme views about the political struggle, inconsistency, hot impatience and under-estimation of thorough work with the masses.

Subash Chandra Bose was born on 23 January 1897 in Cuttack the centre of Orissa, which was included in Bengal province in those days, in the family of a Bengali lawyer. When he was 15 years old, he was acquainted with Vivekananda's ideas. In 1913 Bose entered the Calcutta University and joined a students' circle where works of A. Ghosh and problems of the struggle against British domination were discussed passionately. It is known that during that period the idea of the armed revolt took an important place in the ideology of the latter. During the period of the rapid intensification of the anti-imperialistic struggle in India in 1919, under the pressure of his relatives he left for England for draining and passing exams and getting an appointment in the Indian Civil Service. During that period Bose's outstanding personality shone brightly. He passed exams with flying colours and inspite of his relatives' wishes refused an appointment in the British administration. He decided to devote his life to the struggle for Indian freedom. His ideological sympathy had the tendency to radicalism that was typical for illegal groups in Bengal in those days with which he was connected and with extreme trends in the INC. In 1921 when Subhash returned to India, M.K. Gandhi became a leader of the liberation movement and his theory of non-violence was very popular. However, there were many opponents of Gandhi in the Congress in that time too and among them was C.R. Das whose ideological views could not be put into the frames of non-violence. Bose became a faithful follower of C.R. Das. He always considered him his guru but there were many specific features in the development of Bose's ideology, though there were also many revolutionary - democratic features in it like in C.R. Das' ideology. The revolutionary democratic moods which overwhelmed minds of the great October Revolution influenced theoretical researchers of C.R. Das. He paid special attention to the struggle for the interests of the masses and called on workers, peasants and middle classes to join the national liberation movement. However Das's ideas were of purely abstract character. He did not propose a single development concrete social programme. His ideological sympathies were reduced to petty bourgeois democratism dependence private property and allowing a possibility of preventing class conflicts, such an approach to the decision of social problems in the process of national liberation revolutions is natural because, as Lenin emphasized, "any national movement can be only a bourgeois-democratic one as the major mass of population in underdeveloped countries consists of peasantry which is a representative of bourgeois-capitalist reactions."

A certain abstractism of Bose social ideas was typical in the 20's, nationalism of the oppressed nation was the guideline of his thoughts, dreams and actions. That was typical for the majority of radical figures of the INC. From the end of 20's and in 30's social problems became more and more important for them. Bose participated in the trade unions movement in those days' protecting the workers' demands in bilateral arguments, sometimes he managed to settle conflicts between workers and employers. Bose supported social ideas at the session of INC in Karachi in 1931, approved in the special resolution concerning insurance of workers' interests and reforming of the landownership system, lowering of agricultural rent.

In the declaration of rights also adopted at this session equality before law for all people independent of their caste faith and gender was declared. Even before that session the ideological differences between Bose and Gandhi sharpened considerably. Bose demanded decisive actions aimed at achievement of complete independence by all means including forcible conflicts. The idea of militarization of the liberation movement strengthened gradually, and he tried to implement it in life even in 1928 when together with Jawahar Lal Nehru they became "youth idols". The youth were ready to follow them and to do any thing. Bose was the chief of a volunteers's corps ensuring the holding of the INC session in Calcutta and demonstrated the bright abilities of an organizer. He arranged mass marches efficiently, grand meetings of delegates, and the meeting of the INC organised with J. Nehru was particularly great. Bose succeeded in ensuring a special form for volunteers and demanded their absolute submission.

At this session he supported decisively the inclusion into the programme of the Congress's activities demands for the struggle for achievement of full independence. But the rightist forces defended persistently asked for the formula of "dominion status". The tactic of compromise of M.K. Gandhi and his followers deepened ideological confrontation between Bose and Gandhi. Inspite

the fact that the former was very popular among young people, his influence among the masses and among Congressmen could not be compared with the authority and influence of Gandhi. Gandhi adopted a number of organizing measures as a result of which Bose was not included in the Working Committee of the Congress in 1930.

In January 1930 British Indian powers arrested Bose. After the release he was again arrested for participation in an anti-governmental demonstration. He was released, but again 1932 he was arrested. In prison he fell ill and on the request of his relatives and influential friends he succeeded in obtaining the permission to leave for Europe for treatment. Thus, he became an exile staying in Europe and acquaintance with social-political processes going on there influenced the unstable and petty bourgeoisie (to a certain extent) psychology of Bose. He saw primarily the external side of phenomena in particular the formation of the fascist regime in Germany and the militaristic marches of the Nazis.

He was won by the circumstance that Germany had no colonies in comparison to England which exploited hundreds of millions of people. The fascist aggressiveness, its desire towards world supremacy, the order which was the result of savage reprisal of all social-political forces which did not follow the ideology of Nazism, violent anticommunism - Bose did not see all these things or did not consider them important due to his specific ideology. It is possible that during this period his ideas about supremacy of a party dictatorship in comparison with the parliamentary democracy began to develop. During that time he wrote the book "Indian Struggle 1920-1934" published in London in 1935. In this book social problems were paid considerable attention. Analysing the ideology of the left wing of the Congress which he reckoned himself in, he wrote "The left forces adhered to the radical views on social-economic issues, i.e. on the issues concerning the attitude to powers, contradictions between landowners and peasants as well as between labour and capital."

He reverted to these issues several times during the next few years when he returned to India. Bose called his ideology socialistic, Western friends of socialism influenced the interpretation of this concept to a certain extent. The social views of Bose were expressed in full in his speech at the Congress of the INC in Haripuri in 1938 when he was elected the party chairman after several years in exile.

At the end of the 30's an intense struggle was going on in the INC; on the attitude to the growing workers and peasants movements, on the tasks and characteristic of activities of the Congress Governments in provinces, where they had won power as a result of the 1937 election, etc. The formation of Congress Ministers neither brought the golden era the voters waited for, nor did it bring popularity to governments themselves as they could not fulfil their pre-election promises, "Zamindars kept all their properties, the police continued to repress, the position of political prisoners remained hard. Release of freedom fighters from prisons was impossible, the Governor put a veto on provinces, governments, requirements". Peasants revolts grew wider. Long marches of peasant organizations were held in villages. They demanded the agrarian reform promised by the Congress. "Kisan Sabha" activities during that period in some places acquired an anti-congress character, peasants marches were held under red communist flags. The tri-colour Congress flag was rejected by them. There were conflicts between Congressmen and peasants organisations. Even numerous appeals of such a popular leader as J Nehru did not solve disagreements. According to the opinion of supporters of non-violence the current situation "symbolized confrontation of socialism and Gandism." Socialism with which a considerable majority of Congressmen of the left wing sympathised that time, was interpreted quite strangely and as a refined bourgeois interpretation of the concept "equality" as something contrary to imperialism and primarily its British variant. But Congressmen were afraid that workers and peasants actions were not socialist but communist as they were connected with the problems of property. Therefore the issue about a candidate to the post of President of the Congress for the next term raised serious debates, majority of provincial committees of the Congress supported representative of the radical wing with a halo of a sufferer - Subash Chandra Bose - who had long-term connections with leaders of the peasant movements and with the trade unions leadership. The proposal was approved by Gandhi. Bose was a talented organizer and within a short period of time attracted large number of manufacturers and princes and arranged rich ceremonies at the session's opening (underlying the Chairman's personality) and entrusting him unlimited powers. In his speech he confirmed the main programme provisions of INC which existed at that time, including Gandhi's principle of non-violence as one of the means for the achievement of freedom. Nevertheless his speech was full of diverse ideas which were far beyond Gandhi's framework. He spoke about ascending and descending of world empires, about the inevitability of this process which went on not without violence. In particular he mentioned that the Tsarist empire in Russia was destroyed in 1917 and on its ruins the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics appeared; and it was high time the British empire also crashed. But such a transformation, he noted - is possible only under the condition if the British people become free in their own house and if Great Britain becomes a socialist state.<sup>2</sup> The last thesis was written, and, it is evident, under the influence of M.N. Roy's views who defended the idea that a revolution in England was necessary to free India.

But Bose did not consider this way to be the only one. The passive waiting for the crash of the British empire did not correspond with his impatient political strivings. He called for immediate actions on the basis of the wide antiimperialist front created for the gaining of political freedom and establishment of the socialist regime (he used these very terms). On the contrary, Gandhi proposed persistently the idea was based on the fact that India was in the underdeveloped phase. He spoke of industrialisation would come to India, it was impossible to avoid it. 'The industrial revolution - he said - still be comparatively and lower than in England but it is possible

that it will be expedited like in Soviet Russia.<sup>2</sup> In August 1936, at the meeting of the Indian scientists association, Bose submitted the entire programme of national planning of industrial development that would become the foundation of the progressive structure of India after winning freedom. "Though, said Bose, the development of industry is the integral process throughout the world, nevertheless we should aim at national autonomy, especially in the sphere of our main needs and requirements. We should pursue the policy of furthering the development of the national industry, "i.e. the development of power engineering, metallurgy, machine-building and tools manufacturing, chemicals, transport and communications development, etc."

He paid much attention to the problem of technical specialists, training and technical education and according to him it was necessary to use diversive farms in the field and send students abroad for studying scientific discoveries. He also suggested the establishment of the Council of National Research.

He considered planning a wide programme of activity based on serious studying of the modern world industrial development as well as the level of development achieved by India by that time. It is remarkable that considering the issue of the planning and industrialization of India, Bose put a side agriculture, a branch of industry, where the majority of the Indian people were busy. He proceeded from the fact that the industrialization itself would change the character of agriculture correspondingly. (Problems of changes in character of the property as a means of production were not raised by him). Bose connected the development of industry with the necessity of improving the standard of life. Private property remained a state ingredient of the future industrial development of Indian society.

The Indian national press, financed by the Indian ~~Congress~~, supported plans of industrialization of India. Objectively Bose expressed the interests of the growing Indian bourgeoisie though the social views of Bose as a whole were of a petty-bourgeois character. Bose's ideology reflected mainly expectations of the petty bourgeoisie in a town and a part of the middle class suffered not only from the pressure of the colonialists, but from the upper classes of the Indian society. The growing circles of the Indian intelligentsia bore painfully the social humility (horizontal and vertical). The striving to change the social status was evident in various forms of protest (participation in peaceful demonstrations, extreme radical demonstrations and terrorist acts.)

The petty bourgeoisie - Lenin wrote "is incapable of any independent position in key of any battles." It cherished various plans one better than the other, but was hesitating permanently, was interested in utopian ideas and diversive socialist doctrines. V.I. Lenin called attention several times to the fact, that "socialist dreams turned into the socialist struggle of millions of people only in case the scientific socialism of Marx linked reformists class. Outside of the class struggle socialist is an empty phrase or a naive dream." Ideas of socialism expressed by Bose did not turn into a concrete and clear programme. They were a utopian dream and a peculiar support for hopes to get independence from the capitalist England and to a certain extent, a tribute to progressive ideas.

"Socialism became a modern philosophy of life" - said Bose in one of his speeches in 1938. "The industrial century, the result of which is capitalism, is over. I see blessing for mankind in socialism. When I pronounce blessing, I mean a principle the implementation of which in India will depend on history, peoples' psychology and other factors. However, in free India the reconstruction should pursue the socialist line. In ideological discussions with Gandhi he referred sometimes to the Soviet Union's experience. The economic conditions of Russia which was an underdeveloped

country, were changed completely in 15 years.

Bose thought that India could achieve the same result even quicker and that there was no need to spend time in the reestablishment of hand-spinning and hand-weaving as Gandhi insisted. The essence of reforms in the Soviet Union he saw only in the fast industrialization and planning of economy. But Bose did not see and did not want to see that it was possible to do only on the basis of expropriation of private property in means of production and other socio-economic measures. Gandhi thought that the specific conditions of India which existed by that time, not allowed the implementation of other economic programme (besides reestablishment of the hand-spinning and hand-weaving) which would ensure swaraj for millions of hungry people and beggars as well as for millions of illiterate women. Bose admitted somewhat the importance of the handloom industry, but he emphasized the necessity of the fast industrialization of the country and state planning. Essentially all Bose's discourses about socialism came down to the bourgeois principles of society's development as industrialization and planning acting in the form of the state sector in the mixed economy could be successfully implemented in the capitalist system. Throwing aside the scientific interpretation of socialism as a whole, Bose accepted only separate sides of its which corresponded to his eclectic ideology. This circumstances explained in considerable degree his theoretical manipulations regarding the fusion of socialism and national socialism, the searching of ways to synthesize these two absolutely contradictory social-political systems. The idea of synthesis was transformed by him. Primarily it was formulated in the book "Indian Struggle 1920-1934." A little bit later when Nazi Germany unleashed World War II Bose had changed his attitude towards fascism. In one of his speeches he said justifying himself: "I should draw attention to the fact that fascism had not commenced its imperialist aggressions, when I wrote the book, and I imagined it as a simple aggressive form of nationalism. I noted also that communism seemed to me as antinational and this impression was strengthened by the inimical attitude of communist advocates to the INC. However, it is evident that the situation has changed now. I understand now and welcome communism, stated in Marx and Lenin's works, as well as in official statements of 'Comintern' supporting the struggle for national independence."

At the same time in his speeches and articles of late '30s, elements of socialism and Nazism were compared in one or the other way. In discussions about advantages of the one-party system he referred to the example of Soviet Russia, the Nazi party in Germany, the fascist party in Italy and the Kemali party in Turkey."

Bose's attitude to Nazism reflects a complicated and contradictory process in the ideological development of his views and leaves many researchers nonplussed. How can it be that a man who devoted his life to the national liberation of his people, fought against imperialism, stood in the ranks of the radical Congress' leaders, worked in cooperation with Nehru and other politicians, who opposed Nazism from the very beginning, could not understand the aggressive, inhuman essence of fascism, its striving for of other nations? How could he apply to fascist Germany for assistance after his political failures in India?

In trying to explain this not only by Bose's pure personal qualities, his inclination towards adventurism, but also his ambitions, unusual organizing abilities etc. it is necessary to describe the situation existing in India by the end of '30's and beginning of '40's.

At the very beginning of 1939 in the ruling circles of the INC, the issue regarding elections of a new Chairman was being settled. Subhash Chand Bose was nominated for election to this post by his closest comrades for the second term. However

time this proposal was not supported by the majority of Congressmen, including M.K. Gandhi. They felt that Bose called for resolute struggle and ultimatums to England were not timely. After long discussions the second candidate - P. Sitaramaiah was nominated. As a result however Bose got the majority of votes and remained the INC Chairman for the second term.

J. Nehru returned from Europe by this time. He was a member of the INC Working Committee and did not support Bose's impatient tactics. Fearing the Congress splitting at an important moment he doubted that the election of Bose was expedient. Bose's situation became more serious because 12 out of 15 members of the INC Working Committee declared that they would have the Committee in connection with their disagreement with the Chairman's position. J. Nehru submitted the application, stating that between him and the "group of 12" (members of which were S.Patel, R. Prasad and others) there were serious contradictions. The Congress Chairman fell ill. He took some measures to reestablish status-quo having refused to accept the resignation of members of the Working Committee and through members of the Organizing Committee made preparations for the INC Congress. Inspite of all difficulties necessary measures were taken and the Congress in Tripur was open in March 1939. As already mentioned, Bose had an inclination for rich ceremonies and military parades during the Congress events. During the ceremonial procession in honour of the Congress Chairman elephants from the nearest provinces were brought to Tripur. the number of elephants coincided with the number of years of the Congress. A separate camp for the Chairman was assembled. In the premises where delegates stayed hot debates were held. The Working Group members who were going to resign, refused to participate in debates, but arrangements of the other Working Committee failed.

Under such circumstances Bose delivered a brief speech and informed of the programme of actions which was not supported by the majority of delegates. The resolution proposed by his opponents was approved and Bose had to resign. Soon after that Bose took some action that violated the INC resolutions and disciplinary measures were taken against him. He was forbidden from occupying leading posts in the Congress for three years and that meant his expulsion from the INC. After that, he immediately declared the organization of an other party. "Forward Block" which according to the expression of J.Nehru had to oppose itself to the Congress. Nehru wrote: "The Block has disintigrated as it was expected, however, it strengthened splitting trends and resulted in the deterioration of the general situation. Adventurous and opportunist elements commenced forwarding their platforms, and involuntarily it reminded me of those methods with the help of which the Nazi party came to power in Germany. In the beginning they won mass support for their programme, then they used their support for the achievement of other aims."

"Forward bloc" an All India Party existed not for long and its core survived only in Bengal. Actually it turned into a provincial party. At the beginning of the 2nd World War, the situation in the nationalist circles of India become more acute. A complicated issue concerning the attitude towards the war and to England arose. Hesitations and doubts tortured outstanding leaders of the INC. Even J. Nehru hesitated. Only Gandhi on the basis of this theory of non-violence said that Congress men should not create difficulties for the enemy at this hard hour. But circumstances demanded the resolute measures. The majority of the active participants of the anticolonial movement, using news of Western English language press, could not come to a decision concerning the evaluation of political processes

occurring in the world. "During the war, - Nehru wrote, - new problems arose & old problems were transformed. It seemed that the previous arrangement of forces had changed and old criteria have vanished. A lot of unexpected events have happened and it has been difficult to adjust oneself to them." Nehru mentioned "Russian-German pact, friendly gestures of Russia towards Japan," defeat of Norway, Holland, Belgium, Paris fall: All these events could not be assimilated into the views and stereotypes of thinking of Congressmen. During that time the peasant and trade union movements grew wider in India, Ministers- Congressmen resigned from provincial governments, the Constitution's writ was temporarily curbed and mass repressions commenced. Bose was arrested in June 1940. In prisons he declared a hunger strike and because of his illness he was discharged under police surveillance. After staying at home for some time Bose decided to search for support of his variant of the liberation of India in other countries including England's enemies. It was an old idea which possessed the minds of Indian revolutionaries even during the 1st World War, and which became terrible under the changed conditions, but Bose could not understand it. He decided to escape from India with the help of his friends. It is possible that Bose received financial support from relations and rich friends. He was going to leave for the Soviet Union as an anti-imperialist country which always supported anticolonial movements - as Talwar certified, before departure Bose spoke to R. Tagore, Jay Prakash Narayan, L. Shankar Lal and others and received their approval.

The process of preparation and organization of the escape via border provinces and Kabul (where he tried to contact the USSR Embassy and obtain an entry USSR visa), was ~~unsuccessful~~. Then Bose decided to apply to the diplomatic mission of Germany which was at war with England, as during that time the own aggression pact was in force between the USSR and Germany. Via diplomatic channels he tried to obtain transit visas for USSR, Berlin and Rome. As such the visas were not issued. Bose decided to cross the border himself. Italian representatives in Kabul rendered to him all possible assistance, but warned him that it was risky business. It was however dangerous to stay in Kabul. Every day he risked being arrested. Former members of various groups of Indians hid Bose, among them were the former 'Gadroves' participants of the Peshawar revolt of 1930. At the last moment the transit visa was obtained in the name of Orlando Mazotti and he succeeded in reaching Berlin. Fascist leaders ~~greeted~~ greeted Bose's arrival in Germany.

Arriving in Berlin, Bose obtained permission for a special uncensored radio broadcast for India ("Azad Hind Radio"). In his speeches he appealed to his people calling on the anti-British struggle with the help of England's enemies. These appeals reached a part of Indian and even found certain understanding since in public opinion of India, there were different trends and among them there was a pro-Japan trend. In one of his speeches Bose stated that he left India in order to establish direct contacts with enemies of British imperialism and therefore he connected the Indian struggle for freedom with the struggle of the axis powers against the old enemy - England. Though Bose was not a ~~politician~~ politician, nevertheless he understood quite clearly contradictions between Germany and Japan regarding India out of which he could get benefits for India. Besides Bose believed in the lasting pact between the USSR and Germany. He stated to representatives of Nazi powers on his arrival in Berlin that "for liquidation of the British influence in Eastern colonial countries it is necessary to support the status quo between Germany and the Soviet Union" believing naively that his statement was of any importance for Nazi powers. But very soon he understood that he had made a mistake, that his hopes were in vain. Fascist Germany violating all norms of the International Law, violated the agreement with the USSR and invaded the USSR.

That fact influenced Bose's plans and he began to understand the true face of fascism. Arranging military units of captive Indians and emigrants he envisaged using them against British troops

and objected to Nazi attempts to send them to the Eastern front. He stated that Indian legion soldiers would "fight only against England, but never against the Soviet Union." Gautam Chatto referring to German archives' data, wrote that 10 Indian legion soldiers, obeying the order of their commander, refused to go to the Eastern front and they were brought to the military tribunal. Events of 1942-43 at the fronts of the 2nd World War demonstrated that Nazism was not so strong as Bose supposed. The Stalingrad battle shook considerably the prestige of the German army. The situation of Indian sub-units acting in Algeria became complicated. None of German's allies wanted to finance Indian sub-units. But soon Bose's fate changed considerably. Events in South-Eastern Asia translated dreams into reality and create an Indian Army, and he began to think in terms of Japanese help.

Ideas of armed throwing off of colonial powers were a main a leading part of Bose's political views. But it was difficult to implement these ideas in India. M.K. Gandhi played a great role in the national liberation movement and especially his theory of non-violence and his ability to penetrate into peoples' souls, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "India, even town India, even new industrial India has a peasant imprint and it will be quite natural for it to make its son who is so alike his country and at the same time so unlike, an idol and an adored leader." Gandhi was supported by masses of people and leading social forces. But after sometime his positions grew weaker and a great number of participants of the national liberation movement considered the non-violent theory to be hopeless under those conditions. At the end of 1942 the theatre of war moved towards the Indian frontiers. The Japanese army attacked successfully the armies of the allies in the region of the Pacific Ocean. The British colonial empire started to disintegrate. The feat of British powers in Burma and Malaysia made a great impression in India. The question about military defence of the country was on the agenda. Revolutionary events in India began to develop. The British administration did not seem invincible any more. After long hesitation the INC leadership headed the movement "Out of India" supported by Gandhi too. Bose was sure that internal blows supported by military actions from outside could crush the British aliens in India.

At that time in South-East Asia the Indian national army was formed. Its commanders invited Bose to come and head this Army. A prominent Indian figure Rash Behari Bose who lived in Singapore played an active role in this.

In February 1943 Subash Chander Bose sailed there aboard a German military ship. In the South of Africa he changed for a Japanese submarine which delivered him to Sumatra and from there he flew to Tokyo (13 June 1943). The idea of creation of the Indian national army in South East Asia occurred in December 1941 when a small group of officers of the British-Indian Army captured by the Japanese, took the decision to unite with a group of Indian politicians" who lived in Sumatra to combat against the British. A captain of one of former Punjab regiments, Mohan Singh, began talks with the Japanese headquarters who supported this idea.

In June 1942 at the conference in Bangkok the council of actions was arranged and Rash Behari Bose was appointed its Chairman. At that conference it was officially stated that the Indian national army would be formed and it would be under the command of Indians. And that immediately after India's liberation the Japanese Government would recognise the territorial integrity and full sovereignty of India free from any foreign influence,

control as well as political, economic or military interference. I hope that such a promise would be fulfilled was pure utopia, and this was immediately obvious since Japanese headquarters did not give any official promises regarding the status of the Indian national army and future relations with India. But it could not manage with a great number of war-captives and wished to use them in its own interests in war against the British forces and agreed to create INA which began to be formed after the Rangoon and Singapore defeats when the British Headquarters left in panic about 20 thousand Indian soldiers and officers to the mercy of fate. During that period, in South-East Asia there were about 2 million Indians ready to join the "total war" against the British colonialists. In October 1943 it was stated in Singapore that there would be the establishment of a so-called provisional government of free India headed by Subash Chand Bose which should be located at the Andaman Islands seized by the Japanese. This "government" declared its intentions about joining the war against England and the USA.

Bose arrived in Rangoon at the beginning of 1944 and the INA together with Japanese troops began to move closer to the Indian frontiers. On 18 March 1944 the Indian National Army crossed Burma's border and entered the Indian territory. Bose insisted that the INA should fight against troops of colonialists on its own land. But the Japanese headquarters did not agree with it. As the result of the agreement both armies acted under the general Japanese command, but the Indian troops were to have an independent sector of actions and to exercise control over free Indian territory.

However, Indian troops acted only as infantry units. They did not have an airforce or artillery, and as for the Japanese, they did not help them. In spite of these terrible conditions, Indian units fought bravely. During the battle for Kohima and Imphal many Indians were killed. Details of this battle were not widely known, but Bose probably understood that it was senseless to rely on the Japanese. Just then, Bose realized that liberation of the motherland could be achieved only by struggle inside the country, but not by military operations from outside. The idea "England's enemies are our friends" failed completely. In one of his radio speeches made in summer 1944 he stated "Let us assume that the British will adopt the resolution "Quit India" and will start to act immediately and guarantee that not a single Japanese soldier will step on the Indian ground."

During that time he appealed by radio to Gandhi personally as the "father of the nation" and greeted the struggle within the framework of the movement "Quit India". He cannot but be happy if our compatriates get freedom for our motherland by their own force." Exhausted by illness & with heavy losses INA retreated to Rangoon. On 23 April 1945 Bose received an official order to leave Rangoon from the Japanese headquarters. On 16 August, Bose flew from Singapore to Saigon. The next day the Japanese authorities offered him a seat in the plane. He insisted that one of his comrades would fly together with him. He did not know the destination but somebody hinted that it was possible he would leave for Manchuria. Bose was accompanied by Habibur Rahman, Deputy Commander of the INA Headquarters. On August 17, 1945 the plane took off. Bose sent his farewell to his friends: 'Jaya Hind (Long Live India!) I will return to you.' On August 22, 1945 Radio Tokyo said that Subhash Chandra Bose was killed in a plane crash in Taiwan. The plane was scheduled for Japan. Later on, some evidence appeared that Bose and

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H. Rahman were seriously wounded and transported to a Japanese hospital and that the last words of Bose were: "Habib my end comes, I am dying for the freedom of my country. Go and tell compatriots that they must continue to fight. India will be free and soon....." This evidence aroused suspicion but nobody could confirm or deny it. Even an urn with ashes brought by Habibur Rahman to one of the Japanese temples was not accepted by many people as the evidence of his death. Later on, his relatives officially confirmed his death. However it did not remove the cover of mystery connected with the name of a great fighter for the liberation of India.

Bose's socio-political views contained diverse concepts. In some aspects he was close to Marxism, sometimes he expressed openly Indian national bourgeois strivings but most of them (views) reflected hesitations of the petty bourgeoisie. Basing himself on the progressive theory of nationalism of the oppressed nation Bose accepted only one side of it - nationalism as an end in itself. He thought that to achieve this aim any means were allowed. The idea of independence was narrowed objectively.

Such positions took him away from the way along which the national liberation movement of India went. Some participants of this movement considered it possible to use in their struggle the enemies of England hoping for its weakness in case of its defeat in war and thus to make closer the liberation of India. Some of them even thought it possible to cooperate with Germany and Japan, fighting with England. Referring to the period of actions of the Japanese militarists in South-East Asia, Nehru wrote: "Pro-Japanese sentiments did not exist practically because nobody wanted to change owners, pro-Chinese sentiments were strong and widely spread. However, there was a small group the position of which was pro-Japanese indirectly. It meant that they considered using the Japanese invasion in the interest of the liberation of India. They were impressed by Subash Chandra Bose's hesitations & understanding of their helplessness were widely spread among the leading circles of the INC and the movement growing from below demanded actions, and Gandhi, understanding it, published a number of articles in which "there was a hint at the necessity of actions. The movement "Quit India" contained new forms of struggle. As the result of circumstances existing in South-East Asia, where the INA was acting under the command of Bose and events developing in India those days, the illusion of the doctrine "England enemies - our friends" became evident and further activity of Bose and his supporters faced obstacles to overcome which was possible only by one way - to return to the motherland and to participate in the common struggle for its liberation. But that struggle was headed by other internal (home) political forces. However, that way was almost impossible. The colonial authorities desired to find a chance to deal with traitors.

Bose, preventing firmness and self-control, tried to find a way out for himself but his attempts failed.

V.I. Lenin, considering the problem of a personality in history, wrote: "The idea of historical necessity did not undermine, at all the role of a personality in history: History is composed as a whole by actions of personalities who are creators undoubtedly. A real question, arising upon evaluation of the public activity of a personality is as follows: under which conditions this activity will be successful? What is the guarantee that this activity will be not a single act, diving in a sea of counter-actions?"

Sulochandra Bose was a political figure and a considerably great one who played an important role in the development of the anti-imperialist movement of India. His wide socio-political views including the struggle for social reconstruction in various spheres of social-economic life of India, were of functional character and were determined by nationalism and it put him in a difficult situation. He did not always take into account real political situations during this or that period, laid down left radical demands contrary to 'constitutional' and 'reforming ones.'

At the same time he did not formulate his positive programme. His main strength was in his criticism of separate ideological directions of the INC and tactics of its leadership. Sometimes, this criticism was based on the progressive positions and promoted the strengthening of positive potential of the whole movement. In particular, he supported the idea of drawing workers and peasants as well as their organizations into the active anti-imperialist struggle, advocating the idea of the united front in the middle of 1939s. He condemned aggression and thought that after gaining independence, India would support combatting any aggression in the international arena. His attitude to communism was very negative and his approaches towards the settlement of the community - religious problems, while based on secular positions and coincided with approaches of other congressmen. His hatred of everything British origin led him to the negation of the parliamentary system and he imagined the future state structure of independent India as a party dictatorship, which should ensure India's fast economic development. Absence of a complete ideological concept of the strategy of the national-liberation movement resulted in the search for ideological stereotypes in the movement of Shinfeinors, Kemalism, national socialism and looking into Bolshevism as well as in attempts to find a synthesized construction made of contradictory ideological trends.

Eclecticism was typical of many Indian trends, appeared in the process of national liberation movements in India. But they accumulated in themselves more or less homogeneous currents of unequal systems. Bose tried (especially during the last period of his activity) to continue contradictory elements and that was the reason why he could not arrive at a complete system.

This circumstance attached him to Congress inspite of deep contradictions with its leadership. By intuition he felt that the National Congress was the only real force capable of making India free from the colonial yoke. That was why after his leaving the Congress and creation of his own party "Forward Block" Bose stated: "I will be faithful and even more devoted than previously to the Congress and the country as a servant of the nation."

Bose's tragedy lay in the fact that he devoted all his life to the struggle of the Indian people, ~~but~~ could not understand the complicated socio-political, spiritual and psychological processes, which determine the main flow of the national-liberation movement and found himself off the road to independence.

# Subhas Chandra Bose's Escape in January 1941



II

On January 27, 1941, the *Hindustan Standard* reported that Subhas Chandra Bose had suddenly disappeared. The sensational news shocked the whole of Calcutta and India. Kept under house arrest, Bose was to have appeared before the British colonial court shortly to answer the charges of having indulged in anti-British activity. But when two policemen arrived at his home on Elgin Road in Calcutta, they were unable to find him. Crowds of curious onlookers gathered in front of his house hoping to hear some details. On January 28 all Calcutta newspapers carried banner headlines on Bose's mysterious disappearance.

It turned out that in the last few days Bose had not kept in touch even with his relatives. He had shut himself up in his study and was growing a beard. The British authorities took unprecedented measures to recapture him, ordering the police and the intelligence service to establish tight vigil at seaports, airfields, and railroad stations. But in actual fact Bose had escaped as early as the night of January 16-17 and by that time was beyond the British police's reach in Afghanistan. Then he appeared in Berlin, spending about 24 months in Germany and leaving in February 1943.

What could have brought the Indian national leader to the capital of Nazi Germany, that had unleashed a global massacre and become evil incarnate to mankind? Had Bose intended to go to Berlin from the very beginning?

During the war the Allied Powers' press accused Subhas Chandra Bose of having sympathies for Nazism. What was his real attitude towards Nazism and Nazi Germany? In the 1930s Bose repeatedly visited Germany and other European countries, met many political and public figures, gave interviews, and wrote for the press; there is, therefore, plenty of written material to enable us to throw some light on this issue.

Subhas Chandra Bose's attitude towards Nazism was not permanent and unequivocal. He did not understand its class essence and at first hoped that "the new German nation, that has risen to understand its national might, will instinctively sympathise with the other nations endeavouring in the same direction." Bose's approach to Nazism was solely determined by his attitude towards the colonial peoples' national-liberation struggle, but very soon he realised that Nazism was the sworn enemy of the national-liberation movement in India and throughout the world.

By Prof. A. RAIKOV

At that time Subhas Chandra Bose was on friendly terms with the Kurti family which lived in Germany. "I was also glad to note his deep contempt for the Nazis, a feeling which he did not attempt to hide from us," recalled K. Kurti. In one of his letters to the Kurts, Bose wrote that, in his view, the atmosphere in Germany was "suffocating". Bose condemned suppression of freedom, and the anti-Semitic sentiments in Nazi Germany. He found Hitler's anti-Semitic statements in *Mein Kampf* deeply offensive. "We cannot brook any insult from any other nation or any attack on our race or culture," Bose wrote to the well-known German Indologist, Dr. F. Tierfelder.

In short, Subhas Chandra Bose did not at all sympathise with Nazism and its ideology. At the same time, he considered Britain not only an oppressor and enemy of India but a "great obstacle to human development in general". But Bose did not realise that Nazism had already become the shock force of world imperialism and, hence, the main enemy of world progress. Germany attracted him to a certain extent as Britain's enemy.

When World War II broke out, Subhas Chandra Bose was going to use the then prevailing international situation in the interests of India. He took into account the fact that the USSR was not involved in the war till mid-1941, that it had always stood by the national-liberation movement, and that Soviet-British relations had been unfriendly since the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact and the beginning of the Soviet-Finnish war.

Numerous memoirs published to date show that Subhas Chandra Bose wanted to leave for the USSR to secure its support in some form or other for the Indian freedom movement. The Communists were the first to be informed of Bose's plans. Thus, Bose met Achchar Singh Cheema in 1941 to discuss his departure for the USSR. The Punjab organisation sent Ram Kishan to Kabul to establish contacts with the Soviet Embassy and then to go to the USSR to arrange for Bose's arrival.

It took Ram Kishan a long time to accomplish his mission. The Soviet Embassy turned him down. Achchar Singh was also later sent to Kabul. At their own risk, he and Ram Kishan decided to penetrate into Soviet territory. Ram Kishan got drowned while crossing the border river, and Achchar Singh encountered Soviet frontier guards, who sent him to Moscow. "My impression was that owing to the international situation prevailing at that time the Soviet Union was very cautious and did not want to embarrass the British," he recalled. Indeed, the two powers began to draw closer to each other in view of the mounting Nazi threat. Stafford Cripps, a Labour left-winger, was appointed British Ambassador to the USSR. Achchar Singh was given no practical promises, but Soviet frontier posts were instructed to grant free access to Bose, who had been informed of Achchar Singh's mission and decided to start carrying out his plan.

Subhas Chandra Bose distracted the police agents' attention and escaped from his house. One cannot say for certain to this day whether the agents were bribed or simply neglected their duties.

He left Calcutta in a car driven by his nephew Sisir Bose. At a small station he took a train to Peshawar. Pretending to be a deaf mute, Bose crossed the Afghan border and arrived in Kabul, accompanied by Bhagat Ram Talwar and several others.

The greatest problem was how to meet Soviet Ambassador Konstantin Mikhailov. The Soviet Embassy's gate was always closed and guarded by Afghan policemen. Subhas Chandra Bose had crossed the border illegally and had no documents with him. Talwar finally managed to stop the Soviet Ambassador's car. This was a dramatic moment that predetermined Bose's destiny. Talwar, who had poor command of Persian, explained to Mikhailov that the man standing at a distance was Bose. "Why should I believe that this is really Subhas Chandra Bose?" asked the Ambassador. "How can I help you without any proof of his identity?" The car drove off and the opportunity was missed.

Why did Mikhailov not find out if the man was really Bose? The USSR's international situation was very complicated in the last pre-war months. Soviet officials abroad had to take extra precautions. Add to this the internal situation

# 25 ENERGY FROM A VACUUM?

(Continued from page 42)

From the photograph of a nine-month-old child, Chernetskaya established precisely that he is now 21 years old and described the appearance of his bride, where she lives and what her hobbies are. It turned out that the girl likes to sew, and Chernetskaya described in detail the room where the sewing-machine stands.

Anchorman Viktor Balashov imagined the circuit of a complex acoustic device and pointed out exactly where a malfunction had occurred in it. Many specialists had tried for a long time to find it, but failed. Such examples can be multiplied—we have conducted hundreds of experiments.

You have delivered several reports at the symposium. These reports dealt with psychotronics. The latter carries out the technical simulation of phenomenal human abilities. Have you conducted research in this field too?

At first we became convinced that a human field can influence diverse animate and inanimate objects. Then we began simulating bioenergetic processes with technical facilities, for instance, the generator of the self-generating discharge.

According to our concept, the emission of this generator and that of man have something in common: they emit waves with a longitudinal component which are supplied with the energy of a physical vacuum.

For instance, persons with extrasensory abilities brought their hands close to another instrument—a fully screened quartz generator and mentally influenced it. Usually it possesses a very high stability and operates at a strict frequency. But here, in spite of the screens, the frequency suddenly changed by an order of magnitude. Then it varied by another order of magnitude, and still then by three orders of magnitude. It was clear that the wave with a longitudinal component penetrates through the screens and alters the structure of the elements of the quartz generator.

Such changes in the frequency were caused by the generator of the self-generating discharge. Like the hands of people with extrasensory abilities, it gives many other effects. For example, it alters the resistance of resistors by more than 10 per cent. It even alters the rate of radioactive beta-disintegration, which seemed to be absolutely stable, by five per cent.

The use of our generator in agriculture can be very effective. It seems unbelievable but we succeeded in increasing the rate of the growth of the seeds of wheat and beans and to raise the storage time of vegetables by five to six times.

Today the aura is much spoken about. It is claimed that the aura is seen by people with extrasensory perception around human beings and other living creatures. Can the aura be recorded by instruments? What is its physical meaning?

These envelopes also form around inanimate objects—for instance, a generator of self-generating discharge. We have measured them around people, plants and instruments with the electrometric sensor. Their electric fields had a periodic structure. It seemed that they were pulsating. Such periodicity is not typical either of the static field or the travelling wave. But this phenomenon can be well explained by our concept: living creatures and the generator emit electromagnetic waves with a longitudinal component.

It is worth mentioning that the structure of the envelope around the generator is preserved when it is switched off. This can be explained by the fact that the emitted wave receives energy from the physical vacuum. But the most wonderful thing of all is that it is possible to mentally create the image of a map or a generator in any place, for instance, in the corner of a room, and the instruments will record the envelopes of this phantom. If this image is then mentally blurred, the "envelopes" will vanish—the instruments will not indicate anything. This shows that the human brain can emit waves with a longitudinal component. They impart a definite structure to a physical vacuum or destroy it.

These results seem striking: they confirm the age-old idea of the material nature of all ideas. As the ancient Greeks said, "a thought hovers in the air". You have succeeded in recording these waves instrumentally. Does that mean hallucinations, apparitions, ghosts and even gods are real? Are they the products of the human brain?

Our research makes it possible to find answers to eternal problems of philosophy—about life, death and immortality. But today theories are not the main thing. We have to save our Earth right now, it is seriously ill thanks to irrational human activity. It is necessary, as soon as possible, to start the implementation of vacuum energetics, to save the planet from the threat of destruction as a result of the unbridled exploitation of conventional energy sources.

However, the main thing is to overcome the moral crisis which we have been led into by the stand of the conquerors of nature. We really have conquered ourselves. But the better man understands his opportunities, the greater will be his remorse for the evil he has done to our sick planet and the greater will be the thirst for saving nature and hence humanity.

in the USSR. Stalin's pre-war repressions had caused great damage to Soviet diplomacy. Soviet diplomats were deprived of any opportunity to show initiative. Any reckless step threatened the Ambassador with serious consequences in the then atmosphere of spy phobia. Later it became known that, in Mikhalov's view, the "provocation" had been staged by the British. He wanted to set the USSR and Afghanistan at loggerheads; he expressed his view in a conversation with a German residing in Kabul.

After that failure Subhas Chandra Bose had no way out but to apply to the embassies of the Axis Powers. He got in touch with the Italians and met Ambassador Caroni. The Ambassador said that Bose would be delivered to Rome or Berlin. Then Bose was received by German Ambassador Pilger who immediately informed Berlin of his meeting. The Germans acted promptly and resolutely. They saw that Bose was "big game" and hoped for serious diplomatic advantages in case of his arrival in Berlin.

In a telegram to its Ambassador in Moscow, Von Schulenburg, on February 9, the German Foreign Ministry reported that Bose was in Kabul and could be delivered to Berlin. The telegram asked the German Embassy to find out if Moscow would agree to his transit across Soviet territory and if it would instruct its Ambassador in Kabul on this score. "Without attaching special political significance to this case, you should indicate that we view it just as a problem of personal asylum", ran the telegram.

Von Schulenburg was given permission for the travel of Subhas Chandra Bose and he sent a telegram to Berlin on March 3: "The Commissar for Foreign Affairs has informed me that the Soviet government is ready to give a visa for Bose to go to Germany through Russia".

In the meantime, Subhas Chandra Bose was hiding from the British and Afghan police in Kabul. Uttam Chand, an Indian who helped Bose in that difficult period and provided him with shelter, recalled: "Bose was not happy about his forthcoming departure for Berlin or Rome." Even after his meetings with the Ambassadors of the Axis Powers, Bose did not give up his attempts to contact the Soviet Embassy. He asked Uttam Chand to find people who could arrange a meeting with Soviet officials. In a letter to the Soviet Ambassador, Bose described in detail his escape from Calcutta and unsuccessful attempt to meet him. He asked a German citizen to turn over the letter to the Soviet Embassy. But the German Embassy did not want to lose sight of Bose and returned the letter to him.

Asked by Uttam Chand why he was so eager to go to Moscow, Subhas Chandra Bose said: "The Russians and the Germans have just concluded a non-aggression pact. Germany is at war with Britain. Russia is an enemy of Britain. This is the time to go to Moscow and campaign for India's freedom." (Uttam Chand reproduced Bose's answer from his memory.) When Uttam Chand asked Bose if he was sure that the Soviets would allow him to engage in anti-British propaganda, he observed, "It may be that the friendship between Russia and Germany does not last long and they might go to war. But the political situation today is changing so fast that we do not know what may happen in the next 24 hours. . . . Even if there is an undercurrent of hostility between Germany and Russia, the British, too, are no friends of Russia. I am sure the Russians will help me."

Uttam Chand testified that Subhas Chandra Bose did not want to confine himself to propaganda activities. He was going to ask Moscow for practical assistance. "I want to persuade the Russians to help us," he pointed out. Bose said that if he failed to arrive in Moscow via Kabul, he would do all he could to get there from Berlin or Rome. "Today Russia is the only country which can help to liberate India," stressed Bose. "No other country will help us. That is why I do not want to go anywhere else but Moscow." Uttam Chand noted that Subhas Chandra Bose had not said a good word about the Axis Powers over the 45 days of his contacts with their officials. "He hated them as much as the British," added Uttam Chand.

Subhas Chandra Bose knew that the British police were after him and could at any moment capture him in Kabul. (A British agent interrogated Uttam Chand about two Indian fugitives, though by then it was too late.) But Bose did not abandon the idea of crossing the Soviet border. The route had been coordinated and a guide found to take Bose across the border for 700 afghans. Bose was to have left Kabul one or two days later. It was then that the Italian Embassy reported that Bose's departure had been arranged. He decided not to take risks, crossing the Soviet border illegally. The Italian Embassy issued him a passport where he was registered as Orlando Mazotta. Accompanied by two Germans and one Italian, Bose officially crossed the Soviet border and arrived in Moscow by rail.

There is no data available as to whether Subhas Chandra Bose made any fresh attempts to get in touch with the Soviet authorities. He crossed the Rubicon and all his subsequent activities were linked only with the Axis Powers. Bose spent only one night in Moscow and the next day flew to Berlin to face his fantastic fate.

(To be continued)

that they arrange a meeting between him and the Soviet Ambassador Y. Malik. However, the answer was that only Foreign Minister Shigemitsu could help him. When Bose went to see Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister was clearly irritated and responded with icy silence to his request. Persistence in achieving his goal was one of Bose's most characteristic traits. Upon returning to his hotel after a talk with Shigemitsu, Bose wrote to the Soviet Ambassador a long letter and sent it by messenger. The Secretary at the Embassy returned the letter unopened because the Soviet Embassy staff knew Bose as a person who cooperated with the axis. Bose burned the letter and its contents remained unknown.

In Shanghai on his way back from Tokyo, Bose met Anand Mohan Sahay, an Indian who had lived for a long time in Japan. Bose asked him to go to Tokyo and try to establish contact with Malik. What he wanted, apparently, was a preliminary talk without any definite message.

After the war, questioned by the members of a special committee appointed by the Indian government to investigate the circumstances of Bose's death, Sahay confirmed the fact that he had tried to fulfil the task entrusted to him by Bose. To begin with, he had tried to clarify Shigemitsu's and the Minister of Internal Affairs Uzawa's doubts regarding the issue, but they told him it was useless to try to contact the Soviet Ambassador. They did not make a serious effort to really help Bose in the matter.

The above shows that by 1944 Bose was convinced that the axis would be annihilated and was concerned about finding a new base for his activities, believing that the Soviet Union would be most suitable for the purpose. After his return from Tokyo he discussed the problem with his associates many times surmising that the military alliance of the USSR and India and the USA was temporary and the day was not far when it would fall apart.

He even voiced the thought that in the next ten years war between the major allies would be inevitable.

In the middle of 1945, after the defeat of Germany and a number of setbacks suffered by the Japanese army in South-East Asia, Bose decided that time had come to act on his plan and take decisive steps. He went straight to the Japanese government so that it should, in his name, forward to the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo his request to go to the Soviet Union. But the Japanese government did not have the least desire to help him in this matter which was so vital to him. In June he received the following reply: "Nippon government deems it almost without hope of success to get directly in touch with the Soviet Government on behalf of Your Excellency, and it has no intention of doing so."

The situation changed drastically after the Soviet Union declared war on Japan in August 1945. Japan found itself on the brink of a national catastrophe.

On August 16 Bose, who was in Saigon at the time, appealed once more to the Japanese government saying that he and other members of the Indian Provisional Government would like to go to the Soviet Union. His statement said later that he believed that in the beginning the Soviet side would treat him as a war prisoner, but after a while he would have the opportunity of working in one way or another towards Indian independence. The reply from Tokyo was sharper than in June. It said that it was "dishonest" for part of Bose to appeal to the Soviet Union after he had enjoyed the protection of Japan. The reply was another confirmation of Tokyo's utter indifference to the liberation movement in India.

Nonetheless, he got the Japanese military to cooperate. Field Marshal Uchida, who was in Saigon at the time, decided to take the risk of helping and gave orders that two Indians should be given seats in a bomber flying from Bangkok to Japan. The Field Marshal's step may be explained by his desire to do Britain damage and, in parting, drive a wedge between her and the USSR.

It was no accident that the plane carrying Bose was to touch down in Saigon. Obviously, General Shider had an important government mission to use according to his interpreter, the general was considered an expert on Indian affairs and "was regarded an important figure in the coming negotiations with Russia". More than that, Bose was to alight in Mukden to cut his plan of contacting the Soviet command. In his own words it was "up in the dark". The disaster cut the trap short. However, to this day the legend persists in India that Netaji did not die in Saigon but in Mukden and was seen, according to one version, in a Siberian prison before entering the Kremlin, according to another one. Though that is hearsay, it reflects one real fact which is that the Indian liberation movement had always shown a strong tendency towards interaction first with the evolutionary movement in Russia and later the Soviet Union. The legend found distinct reflection in the life of Subhas Chandra Bose, a man of complex political destiny.

## 26

## MALCOLM McDOWELL, A REGICIDE FOR \$2,000,000

Malcolm McDowell will star in Karen Shakhnazarov's new film *Regicide* as Yakov Yurovsky who was responsible for the shooting of the royal family. According to well-informed sources, the approximate sum of his fee will be two million dollars.

This film is being made by the Start Studios, Mosfilm, and financed by the British SPEC Group company specialising in the production of computers. Mosfilm has signed an agreement with SPEC on the establishment of a joint venture called SPECFILM.

McDowell said in an interview he had agreed because he liked Alexander Brodiansky's script and Karen Shakhnazarov. Below we publish the text of an interview granted by him to our correspondent.

Why do you think Shakhnazarov chose you for this role?

I don't understand this myself. Perhaps he wants an actor with a fresh view of that time.

There is an opinion that the methods of Soviet directors differ from those used in the West. Why have you agreed to take part in a Soviet film?

The American system of film production is very strict. Three minutes of filming per day are worth twenty million. Money determines everything. The Soviet Union has not yet been drawn into this system, and creativity is still possible here.

Are the terms of this contract different from your usual ones?

Popular actors, as a rule, receive a sum with six zeroes. But in this particular case I have agreed because I earned a lot in my previous film and can afford to do something pleasant for exchange. I like the script, the director and I like it here.

Does this mean that your impression about the Soviet Union have surpassed your expectations?

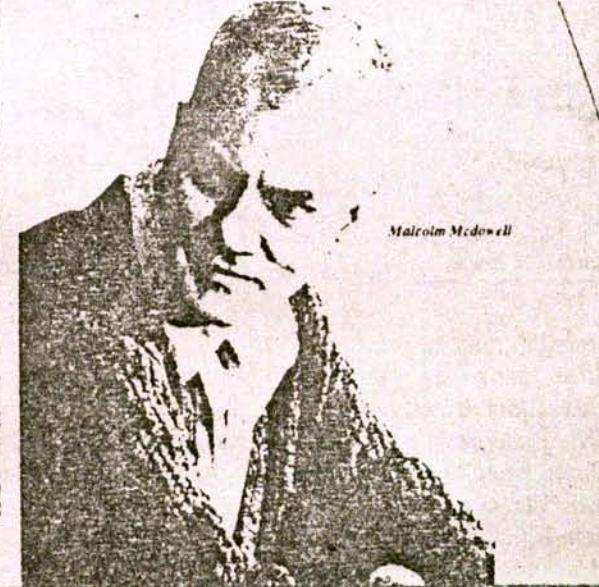
No. The condition of your country and people gives the impression of a steam locomotive without steam. Everything is in disarray and neglected. But the worst thing is that nothing is personified and individuality is in a bog.

The film you are starring in shows a time difficult and unusual for Russia. How do you, a person unfamiliar with Russian problems, see it?

I read books about Russia. Besides, all essential information is within the script. It is very rich and I do not have any difficulties.

In the film you play the part of Yakov Yurovsky, a Jew who shot the last Russian Tsar. The involvement of Jews in the Russian Revolution, which is being closely studied today by the right-wing and makes both right- and left-wingers nervous, is in the public eye. Have you studied this problem?

As an actor I am not concerned with it, though it annoys me much. Your problem does not lie in Jews, Mongols, or Tatars. The thing is that your country is very big and difficult to manage. It has to be divided into small independent states, the way it is done in the USA where California, for example, or other states are independent entities. The time shown in the film—the years 1917 and 1918—is similar to the current situation. Of course, the revolution today is happening not in the physical sense, but in the psychology of people and society.



Malcolm McDowell

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# NETAJI TAKES A LEAP IN THE DARK

By Prof. A. RAIKOV

### III

A Japanese double-engine bomber took off from Taipei aerodrome in Taiwan on August 17, 1945. The war was over since the Emperor of Japan had already declared the unconditional surrender of his army. All weapons had been removed from the plane and it was not going on a combat mission. It was carrying several Japanese officers led by Lieutenant-General Shidei. The plane was to make a stop in Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, and then continue on its course to Tokyo.

Besides the group of Japanese, there were two unusual passengers, one of whom was Subhas Chandra Bose, the leader of the Provisional Government of Independent India set up in Singapore in 1943, and the other was his aide-de-camp Habib-ur-Rahman. With them they had two heavy suitcases of jewellery, rings, bracelets and earnings—donations made by Indians living in Malaya and Burma to Bose's government to aid its struggle for the liberation of the homeland.

The plane was overloaded and its rundown engines could barely get it off the ground. It had hardly gained the necessary altitude when the propeller broke off and despite the desperate efforts of the pilots, the plane crashed down, broke in two and burst into flames. The pilots and General Shidei were killed outright. Bose was badly burned and died several hours later in a Taipei hospital.

Subhas Chandra Bose, whose death shocked the entire Indian nation, took with him into the grave a mystery that historians have not been able to figure out to this day. Where was he heading? What were his plans? Was the Japanese capital his destination? Many researchers doubt that and advance a hypothesis which says that Bose was going to the Soviet Union.

To answer that question we have to go back a number of years. In early April 1941, Bose was in the capital of Nazi Germany erroneously thinking that he would receive assistance for the cause of the liberation of India from the sworn enemy of the British Empire.

Yet the thought of the Soviet Union as a state that was well disposed to India never left Bose and, what is more, it made him to take unexpected and even dangerous steps. For instance, on May 3, 1941, that is, several weeks before Germany attacked the USSR, he wrote in his memorandum to the German government: "In any case, the indirect heir of Soviet Russia or Turkey is necessary for opening up a channel of communication between Germany, on the one side, and Afghanistan and India, on the other. Apparently, he was aware of the approaching attack in the USSR because the following words (the matter how naive they may seem) showed that he wanted to prevent Germany from attacking the Soviet Union:

"For the success of the task of exterminating British power and influence from the Near and Middle East, it is desirable that the status quo between Germany and Soviet Russia should be maintained."

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Bose was in Rome. On his return to Berlin in early July he met State Secretary Woermann of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One can only wonder at Bose, who in the heart of the fascist system dared openly to express his views on the newly-launched war.

The Soviet Union has been popular in India especially among the intellectuals from whom the leaders are drawn. India believes that the Soviet Union is an anti-imperialist power and, hence, India's ally against Britain. In the German-Russian war the sympathies of the Indian people are clearly on the side of Russia because they see that Germany is the aggressor and as such it represents an imperialist threat to India. Even if Germany wins complete victory over Russia, it will be difficult to change Indian public opinion on this matter.

In his report on the meeting with Bose, Woermann pointed out with some irritation that Bose was strongly influenced by the Soviet interpretation of the causes of the German-Russian conflict.

When Indian POWs were organised into the Indian Legion on German territory under Bose's leadership, the latter made a clear stipulation that under no circumstances was the legion to be sent to the Soviet-German front.

Very soon Bose understood that no real assistance was to be expected from Nazi Germany. Suffice it to say that Hitler made him wait more than a

year before he gave him an audience, and when he did, Bose was unable to elicit even a simple statement of his recognition of India's right to independence.

In 1943, Bose made a dangerous voyage in a submarine to South-East Asia where he hoped to enlist Japan's aid and the support of the three million strong Indian community living in the area in the struggle against Britain. The Provisional Government set up by Bose declared war on Britain and the USA, but not on the Soviet Union which was a member of the anti-Hitler coalition.

With time he realised that it was just as hopeless to try to get Japan to assist in the liberation of India as it was to get Germany to do so. As the downfall of the axis drew closer, Bose understood that he had looked for allies in the wrong places. Again and again he returned to his former plan of establishing contact with the Soviet government.

Japanese sources possess especially revealing data on the question. It is from them that we learn that as early as November 1943, when Bose was in Tokyo, he visited Dr. S. Okawa, Professor of Philosophy, and literally shocked him by declaring that he could unite with Russia for the purpose of smashing Britain. Evidently, the idea took definite form after Japan's failure in the Imphal Operation in 1944 in which the units of the Indian National Army created under the leadership of Bose took part. Even before the end of that operation Bose had a talk with Vice-Admiral Chudo, commander of the Japanese fleet in the Burma area, in which he discussed the idea of making an incursion into India from a completely different direction from Central Asia, that is, from Soviet territory.

Japanese authors tend to present the situation in a way that would show that it was the Japanese who gave Bose the idea of addressing the Soviet government and promised him all possible support in the matter. For one thing, that is what F. Saito and T. Hayashida write and what is said in the official report of the 4th Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan which was published in 1956. They even mention the names of some high-ranking Japanese army officers who had given Bose such advice.

Bose started to make preparations for this important step in his own way. Of great interest was his speech to the students of Tskvi University in which he devoted much time to the question of India's attitude towards the Soviet Union. Bearing in mind that Japan was the ally of Nazi Germany which was fighting against the USSR and that it was also hatching aggressive plans against the country back in the days of the battle of Stalingrad in 1942, we have to admit that Bose's speech was an expression of defiance.

He said that India was studying the experience of the land of the Soviets with the greatest attention and that it found the methods of accelerated industrialisation most attractive. He also spoke of the successful solution of the problem of ethnic minorities. He told the Japanese students that Rabindranath Tagore had been very much impressed by Soviet Russia's achievements in the development of public education. He put special emphasis on the fact that the Soviet Union had secured the unity of the country. He pointed out that despite "so many different races professing so many different religions, the country was united in one political system and became such a strong power". Proceeding from this experience he maintained that "there is absolutely no reason why India which has more homogeneity than the Soviet Union should not be united as one nation".

It is true that by making several critical remarks Bose softened somewhat the "pro-Soviet character" of his speech. He rejected the idea of class struggle, pointing out that since India was an agricultural country, the "problem of peasants" was far more important than the "problem of the working class". He also came out against the "overestimation of the economic factor" so characteristic of Marxism. But on the whole, the tenor of Bose's speech did not change with the Japanese propaganda of the days of instance, he never once mentioned Japan's "liberating mission" in Asia and said nothing about "the great East-Asia co-prosperity sphere", the pet theme of Japanese mass media. We can assess Bose's speech as an attempt to attract the attention of the Soviet Embassy and prepare the ground for establishing contact. After all, the press was bound to report on his meeting with the students.

But to establish contact, Bose required the cooperation of Japanese officials. He turned to the representatives of the army and navy and insisted

# SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE IN GERMANY (1941-1943)

In this issue we are publishing one more item by Prof. A. Raikov, a well-known Soviet Indologist and our author for many years, from the series of materials based on a study of documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nazi Germany in German archives. The Soviet researcher found a great deal of little known and some altogether unknown material relating to the Third Reich's policy towards India. The material relating to the time Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, an outstanding leader of the national-liberation movement of India, spent in Germany, will be of particular interest to our readers. Many inaccurate and even erroneous claims about the "Berlin" period of Bose's life exist in historical literature. A. Raikov, basing his views on the documents which are little known or have never even been published in India before, presents his own interpretation of Bose's activity during this period.

## "AN ENEMY OF MY FOE IS MY FRIEND"

The stay of Bose in Nazi Germany from April 1941 to February 1943 presents his biographers with a tricky problem: how should one appraise his nearly two-year collaboration with the clique which plunged mankind into a bloody massacre and intended to enslave the whole world? But in actual fact Subhas Chandra Bose was not a collaborator of the European type. He was guided exclusively by patriotic sentiments and pursued the sole aim of using all possible means to help liberate India, his homeland.

His first disappointment came right upon his arrival in Berlin: a low-ranking official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs met him, whereas he had been hoping for something more impressive. True, he was well accommodated in a luxurious three-room hotel suite and could contact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and even Abwehr chief Kanaris by telephone at any moment. But to meet Hitler he had to wait for more than one year.

In the meantime, on April 3 he was given a chance to set forth his considerations to Staatssekretär of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs E. Woermann. The minutes of this conversation and Woermann's opinion give a very good idea of Bose's intentions and the German reaction to them.

Bose stated that he wanted to set up an Indian government in exile "like the Polish government" and that he reckoned on certain promises by the "axis" countries, primarily in the form of guarantees recognising the independence of India. His plan further called for the organisation of a rebellion against the British in India. But, in his view, it was a 100,000 strong invading army, equipped with up-to-date weapons, which had to be the main instrument of its liberation from the colonialists. This army of "axis" powers would easily rout the 300,000-strong Anglo-Indian army, in which Indians numbered 230,000. The idea was that the Indians would immediately desert.

On Woermann's proposal, by April 9 Bose drew up a "Plan of Cooperation between the Countries of the Axis and India", which developed the ideas voiced by Bose in the first conversation. He expected the "axis" countries to conclude a treaty with "the government of free India", whereby the independence of India would be guaranteed in the event of victory. This time he reduced the strength of the invading army to 50,000.

Therefore, Bose proposed that the Germans liberate India and place it under a government which would, naturally enough, be headed by him. Apparently, at that time he did not think that his mighty ally, Germany, could hatch its own plans vis-a-vis India. This could be viewed as mere naivete uncharacteristic of such an experienced and mature politician as Bose. To all appearances, while formulating his far-reaching plans, he did not view himself as a beggar but as a representative of a great people with a great future and reckoned on a corresponding attitude towards himself. He did not realise immediately the way in which he had been transformed: from the position of a recognised national leader into an emigre who was not supported by the masses.

If he had learned of the considerations of Woermann, set forth in his memo about the conversation, he would have understood a lot more. Let us cite the main ideas of this memo. 1. "Agreement with Bose's plan would mean that we proclaim the liberation of India to be an aim of the war. This is doubtful." 2. The proclamation of a free Indian government headed by Bose in Berlin "would evoke an unfavourable response in India" because Bose is in opposition to Gandhi and Nehru, and would not politically benefit Germany. 3. The question of a military expedition to India "should not be the subject of discussion with Bose". The Hitlerite official viewed the gains which Bose's presence in Berlin could bring to Germany as the principal issue. He did not even mention the Indian people in his memo.

In the meantime, an important event occurred in Europe. On April 6, 1941, Nazi Germany attacked Yugoslavia and on April 13 Wehrmacht units entered

Belgrade. The fact that Bose deemed it possible to give recommendations to the Nazi leaders of Germany in the Additional Memorandum which he wrote shortly afterwards is worthy of note: "To successfully exterminate British power and influence from the countries of the Near and Middle East, the status quo between Germany and Soviet Russia should be maintained."

In all probability, Bose learnt something about the preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union, and he expressed his negative attitude to it clearly enough.

On April 29 Bose had a conversation with Minister of Foreign Affairs Ribbentrop. Bose had been looking forward to it and had pinned great hopes on the meeting, wishing to find out what Ribbentrop's attitude was to his plan. For his part, the Nazi Minister merely wanted to use Bose as a source of information of importance to Berlin.

One should give Bose's his due, for he boldly told Ribbentrop that "opposition to National Socialists and Fascists is rather strong in India" and that "an account of the anti-imperialist attitude of the Indians" showed that "the Soviet Union enjoyed a certain sympathy" because of its anti-imperialist positions. Furthermore, Bose raised an issue which he considered of paramount importance: the need to publish a declaration on the independence of India, once Germany achieved victory in the immediate liberation of India from colonial enslavement.

But Ribbentrop turned a deaf ear to Bose and simply ignored his questions. He did not mention either an Indian government in exile or a military campaign to India. After listening to Bose's answers on numerous questions about the internal political situation in India, the Minister promised to meet him, after he had studied the questions touched upon in the conversation. But the next meeting took place only seven months later.

Ribbentrop's stand and the fact that Hitler was avoiding meeting him inevitably perturbed Bose. Consequently on May 19, 1941, Bose himself offered his own draft of the declaration of India's independence to the Germans. In keeping with the draft, Germany was to recognise the inalienable right of the Indian people to determine on their own the state system after their liberation from the colonialists.

Germany was also to assume the obligation of helping the liberation of the Indian people and then of "recognising with joy" the government of an independent India.

But the Hitler clique was too busy preparing for a war against the USSR to pay attention to Bose. It was not Hitler or Ribbentrop, but a common official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Woermann, who informed Bose on May 24 that it was the "wrong time" to publish a declaration. He was "kindly" allowed to set up not a government but a wretched surrogate named the Free India Centre. A "loan" of one million marks was extended and a lavish monthly allowance of 12,000 reichsmarks was given to Bose for personal expenditures. But this was in fact only a gainful investment which was expected to bring large dividends. Despite this generosity, Bose became increasingly aware of the iron embrace clasping him. It did not take him long to find out that all his telephone calls were bugged and that his correspondence was opened and inspected. He was not allowed to maintain open contacts with Indians who were living in different European countries. When he flew to Rome on May 29, the German Embassy in Italy kept a watchful eye on him and notified Berlin of his activities in its reports dated June 6, 11, 18 and 29. Ribbentrop was right in fearing that Bose would choose Rome as his centre and did not want to lose his prey.

Bose's six-week stay in Rome is worthy of note inasmuch as it was not necessitated. Bose once characterised the atmosphere in Germany as "suffocating" and, to all appearances, wanted to be free of the intrusive checks and controls—for a short period of time at any rate. There was also another reason:

He broke his oath to devote all his life to the cause of the independence of India, and secretly married his Austrian-born secretary Emily Schenk. So, it was his honeymoon.

In Rome Bose met Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ciano who noted in his diary Bose's discontent with the delay in the publication of his statement on Indian independence. As Ciano rightly wrote, Berlin had shown "great restraint" in regard to this proposal.

Bose did not remain in Italy because he realised that Italy was a weak satellite of Germany and could not decide anything on its own.

On June 22, during Bose's stay in Italy, Germany attacked the Soviet Union. This event radically altered the entire alignment of forces in the world and made all the schemes hatched by Bose null and void. The Soviet Union became the leader of the anti-Hitler coalition and the centre of gravity for all progressive forces of the world. Bose had to be mindful of the fact that a wide strata of the Indian people deeply sympathised with the Soviet people and that any continuation of his collaboration with Germany would result in a sharp reduction in the number of his supporters in India. But he behaved as if nothing substantial had occurred and continued to bank on a victory of the "axis" countries. His position in Berlin can be characterised as very complex and contradictory: as a representative of a progressive liberation movement, he found himself in one and the same camp with the most reactionary force in the world. In this way he resolutely cut himself off from the world's progressive forces and found himself in tragic isolation.

Bose was aware that he was dealing with a very dangerous confederate and continued to work for the publication by the fascist powers of a declaration on India's right to independence, despite the fact that such a document gave only an ephemeral guarantee to India.

Bose raised the issue of publishing the declaration with the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs time and again, but failed to get any response. On August 15 he sent a lengthy and rather bold letter to Ribbentrop. The beginning of the war against Soviet Russia was regarded in India as an act of aggression, while Soviet-Anglo-American propaganda developed the idea of Germany's striving for world domination, especially in the East, he wrote. "We cannot hope to bring India over to the side of the axis, if the axis powers do not first declare their policy on India." If this does take place, "the March of the German troops towards the East will be regarded as the approach not of a friend, but of an enemy," he went on to say.

It was only on September 6 that Bose was informed on phone that Hitler was in no hurry to publish the declaration.

Bose and his supporters could broadcast radio propaganda for India but only under strict German control. In December the radio broadcasting department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany adopted the following decision: "Any censorship of the broadcasts should be done in a very subtle manner so that Mr. Bose does not notice anything."

At long last, on November 29 Ribbentrop, who was apparently expecting the quick downfall of Moscow, deemed it suitable to meet Bose. Ribbentrop expounded the same views as the Führer on the rapid conversion of the Soviet Union into a German colony and on the inevitability of the collapse of the British empire, giving Bose over-free recommendations on the direction of radio propaganda. When Bose asked him to publish a statement on German intentions with regards to India, the Minister said that it was necessary to wait until the German troops had crossed the Caucasian range.

Bose very boldly drew the Minister's attention to the places in Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*, where the author had made humiliating references about Indians. He emphasised the immense importance of "enabling the Indian people to know what the Führer thinks about India." Bose implied that Hitler should revise his previous pronouncements and make a benevolent statement addressed to the Indian people. Bose also asked him to arrange an audience with Hitler in order to have an opportunity to set forth his views, but Ribbentrop gave only evasive answers.

Of course, Bose was not at all satisfied with the meeting. His irritation openly manifested itself when Staatssekretär Keppler suggested that a report of this meeting be published in the press. Bose did not want to give Ribbentrop any opportunity to publicise himself with his assistance and said that it was better to publish such a report after he had met Hitler because it would have greater impact.

In its display of complete indifference to Bose's wishes and its denial of official recognition of the future status of India as an independent state, the Nazi leadership of Germany clearly demonstrated its attitude towards him, viewing him only as a toy in its hands. The atmosphere Bose operated in greatly changed in late 1941. After the heavy defeat of the Wehrmacht near Moscow and Rostov, Hitler no longer recalled the formation of an Afghanistan group of troops. Moreover, on December 7, 1941, Japan joined the war against Britain and the USA and its troops quickly approached the borders of India.

Bose began to ponder over the futility of his stay in Germany which had not produced any concrete results. He was still making efforts to achieve the

publication of a declaration on the independence of India but in the new conditions had to deal with two sides because Japan began to play a weighty part in the resolution of the India issue and he consequently had to take this into consideration.

#### THE RUIN OF HOPES

After Japan entered the war on December 7, 1941, the situation for Bose in Berlin became more complicated. He understood that Japan had also become party to the efforts to "solve" the Indian problem, and that this would inevitably intensify the contradictions between Germany and Japan over the matter. He knew something about it, but there were many things he did not know. For instance, he did not know that Woermann had prepared on his own a draft declaration on the Indian question, stating that the Indian people had the right to full and unrestricted freedom. But the declaration was couched in general terms and did not (and could not) contain any safeguards against German intervention in the economic, political and military affairs of a future India.

The draft declaration continued to be edited and specified without any consultations with Bose. Its new wording, which did not contain even the verbal promise of the recognition of the independence of India and its frontiers and a commitment not to intervene in its domestic affairs, was typewritten in large print especially for Hitler.

In the meantime, the Japanese proposed their own draft declaration. Early in May, however, Bose learnt that Hitler thought the moment "inopportune" for making the document public.

One should give Bose his due, for despite his ignorance of all the details of the talks between Germany and Japan on the declaration, he managed to spot a difference in the positions of Berlin and Tokyo, as the Japanese, for reasons of their own, believed that the declaration could be released. He made an attempt at playing on these contradictions and goad Berlin into doing what he wanted. In his memorandum, dated May 14, 1942, Ribbentrop referred to the view expressed by Bose, who had tried to convince German leaders that India would fall into the hands of Japan during its attack, and that, as he (Bose) did not trust Japan, he wanted Germany and Italy to come forward as guarantors of the freedom of India.

But Bose's attempt proved futile, as his opinion was ignored. He was learning a bitter experience in Germany. It was becoming even clearer to him that he was looking in the wrong place for friends of India and guarantors of Indian freedom. Bose was inevitably disturbed by the thought that he was being shamelessly used as a pawn in a game, where he himself wanted to play an active part. He thought about leaving Germany.

Many authors link his desire to leave Germany to the failure of the Nazi offensive on the Soviet-German front in 1942. As a matter of fact, however, this desire came even earlier owing to his disappointment at the stand taken by Berlin on the Indian question.

Woermann's memorandum of May 23, 1942, contains important information, which warrants such a conclusion. He wrote that Bose had come to him to justify his need to leave for the East, claiming that as a Japanese offensive on India was in the offing, he would like to be near its borders. Moreover, ethnic Indians in South-East Asia wanted to see him as their leader.

One should note that the declarations Bose was craving for was hardly worth the wait. Indeed, the governments of the Axis Powers ignored many treaties and agreements, and the document in question would have been just another scrap of paper to them.

Nevertheless, by the spring of 1942 important changes had taken place in Bose's status in Germany. On February 27, he made his first radio address to his fellow-countrymen, so that they all could learn of his whereabouts. He had to explain his stay in Nazi Germany and stated that he was no advocate of the policy of the three powers and that he cared only for India. Bose expressed his erroneous conviction that India would attain freedom only if Britain was defeated in the war. He consequently tried to persuade Indians to take the side of Germany and its allies.

The German press went into raptures over this, as they had finally been given the chance to fully capitalise on Bose's stay in Berlin. But, of course, none of them made any mention of the fact that several wordings of the draft declaration had already been buried in the archives of the Foreign Ministry.

(Continued on page 22)

# UBHAS CHANDRA BOSE IN GERMANY (1941–1943)

(Continued from page 19)

In the spring of 1942 Hitler came to believe with a maniacal self-assurance that the offensive he had planned on the Soviet-German front would be crowned with success and that his tank divisions would cross the Caucasus in their drive towards the East. At the end of May, he thought the time had come for a meeting with Bose.

The meeting, laid out as a very important ceremony, was held at the Reichschancellery on May 29, 1942, with Ribbentrop, State Secretary W. Keppler, Minister Walter Hewel and the Führer's personal interpreter P. Schmidt present. None of these persons joined in the conversation, as they were only listening respectfully to what Hitler uttered.

Hitler had prepared for the meeting by reading about India. He was also familiar with reports from Abwehr (Military Intelligence) agents on the domestic situation in India. This enabled him to speak of the present and the future of India with great self-assurance. A shorthand report of the conversation has remained intact in the archives, which enables one to analyse the unique event: a meeting between the Nazi dictator, a symbol of evil throughout the world, and the leader, popular at home, of a profoundly progressive liberation movement. Bose accorded to the meeting exaggerated importance, hoping not only to find out Hitler's intentions regarding India but also to influence him, if possible.

Paying tribute to the basic courtesies, Bose thanked Hitler for hospitality. Hitler then made one of his typical monologues on the situation in the world. Most interestingly, although he was supposed to talk about India, he devoted most of his speech to diverse aspects of the Soviet Union. In India, the Führer said, people must not shut their eyes to the "Russian threat". He added that Jawaharlal Nehru's views of friendliness towards the Russians appeared "very dangerous" to him.

Hitler added in his characteristic, illogical manner that India had been offered the unique opportunity of discarding the British yoke and avoiding Russia's clutches, "because Russia will now once and for all be routed by Germany." Referring to the proposed declaration of Indian independence, he then expatiated on the thought that such declarations should be made "within the confines of what is possible." India was located far from Germany, and could be reached only by "passing across the corpse of Russia." He thus inadvertently acknowledged the role of the Soviet Union as a shield for India.

Hitler promised Bose that, should German forces approach Indian borders, he would invite him to set foot on Indian soil together with German troops with a view to launching a "revolution" there.

His statement that "one or two years will pass before Germany is able to exercise a direct influence on India" is worthy of note. The war against the USSR had weaned the Führer off the habit of believing in "high-speed" military operations.

Bose did not hear anything inspiring and, disappointed, said boldly that some of Hitler's points in the *Mein Kampf* concerning the Indians "are being used by enemy propaganda." He suggested that Hitler should publicly "explain" his stand on the matter. But Hitler showed no desire at all to continue discussing this subject.

The conversation ended with a devastating statement for Bose to hear: Hitler said that the domestic reorganisation and restructuring of India with a view to achieving unity, whereafter the Indians would be granted self-government, would take 100-200 years. Hitler consequently not only refused to give up his former racist position on Indians, but even confirmed it in a very forceful manner.

The meeting spelled the complete ruin of Bose's hopes and his struggle over many months to secure at least a verbal guarantee of the independence of India by the Axis Powers. If before the meeting Bose still had some illusions about German assistance to India's struggle for freedom, then they were finally

dispelled. The audience with the Nazi dictator left him deeply disappointed and humiliated. It is hard to say whether Bose understood that Hitler had his own expansionist plans for India, but he must have realised that the Führer had never even contemplated supporting the idea of an independent Indian state. And even Hitler's personal present to Bose: a diamond-studded gold cigarette-case failed to sweeten the bitter pill. Bose's profound disillusionment with his talk with Hitler was no secret for German intelligence: Walter Schellenberg wrote about it in his memoirs.

Not surprisingly, Bose did not want to tell his associates about the meeting. He also concealed from them the content of the talk and its futility, limiting himself to the remark that a logical discussion with Hitler for even a few minutes was not possible.

During his stay in Germany, Bose often found that his views on questions about India were completely ignored. For instance, in 1942, he learnt that preparations had been made in Berlin to set up a German-Indian Society. Bose immediately sent a letter to Keppler, writing: "What will be the character of this society—political, economic or cultural? Since there are no Indian members, would it not be more appropriate to name it the German Society for India?"

While making no concessions to Bose in matters concerning India's fate, the Hitlerite clique allowed him to conduct organisational work within clearly defined limits. He was permitted to rally around him a group of Indians, who had happened to stay in Germany for various reasons and to establish what was called the Free India Centre with a membership of 35 persons. The Centre was granted the status of a diplomatic mission and was lavishly supplied with funds. Its members took the oath of loyalty to Bose (but not to India). It was in Germany that Bose assumed the title of Netaji, which was directly analogous to the German word "Führer" but fortified by the particle of respect: "ji". Although Bose strove to dissociate himself from the domestic policy of the Axis Powers, there are no doubts that he wanted to borrow some principles of state organisation. For instance, he expressed his support for a dictatorial form of government, believing that only this could ensure solutions to a variety of Indian problems. But history has shown that the democratic principles of organisation are more suitable for an independent India.

The effort to form what was referred to as the Indian Legion comprising Indian soldiers taken prisoner by German troops played an important role in Bose's activities in Germany. According to Bose, the Legion was to become the first military unit of the future army of an independent India.

Bose went to great pains to find the appropriate wording for the establishment of the Legion after protracted talks with German officials. In keeping with these terms, the Legion should not be part of any German military unit: it should be self-contained. Condition Number Four was most important. It stipulated that Indian soldiers "shall not be sent to any sector of the front for military operations, except India—for struggle against British armed forces." Bose particularly insisted that members of the Legion should never be sent to the Soviet-German front.

Although the German Command accepted these conditions, they complied on the surface, as they planned from the outset to use the Legion as they thought fit.

But the formation of the Legion proceeded too slowly: a mere 3,500 Indian POWs had joined after one year, that is, less than one-third of the total number. In the presence of German army officers, all legionaries took the oath of loyalty to Hitler as Supreme Commander of the German armed forces. True, the oath included words referring to the struggle for Indian freedom under Bose's leadership, but loyalty to the Führer eventually prevailed over all restrictions on the use of legionaries as the German Command saw fit. This manifested itself after the departure of Bose, when the Legion was sent to Holland, where it protected a section of the coast against a possible Allied landing, which was at variance with Bose's conditions. Moreover, after five months of service in Holland, the Legion was transferred to Bordeaux, France, where it was assigned a coastal sector of defence off the river Gironde.

The last months of his stay in Germany were, undoubtedly, very distressing for Bose, as he had failed to secure anything in Berlin—even purely verbal recognition of India's right to independence. Why did he stay then in Germany for almost a whole year after making up his mind to leave and discussing this question with Hitler? Difficulties connected with travel over large distances during the war, which many authors have written about, played no role. In actual fact the Hitlerite clique still hoped to use Bose in some way, had the offensive on the Soviet-German front in the summer of 1942 ended in success for the Germans.

It was profoundly symbolic that Bose was permitted to leave Germany immediately after the Paulus surrender in Stalingrad, that is, when all of Hitler's plans for India had collapsed.

Bose left behind his associates, his wife and little daughter Anita whom he would never see again. Boarding a submarine in Kiel, he set out for the East, heading for new and grim tests in the struggle against Japanese authorities and his death in August 1945. \*\*